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the absence, at least during the Jackson-Clay epoch, of the far-seeing and firm policy, and the adhesion to some sound principle, intellectual or moral, which belongs of right to every statesman of the first rank. We are shown Clay's faults in his treatment of critical matters. Mr. Peck declares the attack upon Jackson's Florida campaign to have been "the most calamitous and far-reaching of Clay's political mistakes." Clay's defeat of the re-charter of the U. S. Bank in 1811 was, he tells us, "a serious misfortune to the country," which Clay "soon regretted," himself becoming the chief advocate of the later attempt at re-charter. The rejection by Clay and his associates of Van Buren's nomination to the Court of St. James is condemned as "an electioneering episode" advantageous only to the men and causes Clay opposed. Clay and Webster are pronounced responsible for the defeat of the re-charter of the Bank and the woes it brought their own party by their refusal to permit modifications in the bill which were approved by the Bank and acceptable to Jackson; and this refusal is declared to have been a political manoeuvre for which, when it failed, there was no excuse. Whatever greatness is to be accorded Clay, it is clear, belongs not to his career and achievements in the rivalry with Jackson, but rather to his services as the "great pacificator." In the Missouri Compromise, and thirty years later in the Compromise of 1850, "the leading principle of his statesmanship" was "to solve the present and urgent problem in a way to preserve and expand our nationality on the existing basis." What measure of greatness belongs to those services, upon which must rest his best permanent fame, is, however, a question hardly within the limits of the Jackson-Clay epoch.

In these days of busy men and many books, the absence of an index is just ground of complaint at least against the publisher of this work.

EDWARD M. SHEPARD.

The Life of Henry A. Wise of Virginia, 1806-1876. By his Grandson, the late BARTON H. WISE. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1899. Pp. xiii, 434.)

THE life of Henry A. Wise is an admirable piece of work. It is done with affection, sympathetically, yet it is thoroughly judicial. The author, like his subject, loved their mother state Virginia, yet he speaks of her without provincialism.

Henry A. Wise was by long descent a Virginian—he was, as he put it, *intus et in cute* a Virginian. He went to Washington College in Pennsylvania, but studied law with Judge Henry St. George Tucker, at Winchester. He practised law at Nashville, Tennessee, but soon returned to settle down where he was born, on the so-called Eastern Shore of Virginia. In 1833, at the age of twenty-seven, he was elected to Congress from a district which included a number of old counties on both sides of the Chesapeake, and sat continuously for eleven years. He then resigned, to be sent as minister to Brazil. Then for ten years he practised law. Of the Virginia convention of 1850, which reformed the state constitu-

tion, he was a leading member. Nominated for governor by the Democrats, to oppose the Know-Nothing party in 1855, he made a remarkable canvass of the state, travelling three thousand miles and using up over four months, and was elected by a substantial plurality. During his term of office occurred John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry and his execution. In the state convention of 1861 which decided the attitude of Virginia to the federal government, in the issue of civil strife, he was a member of the committee on federal relations. On the breaking out of civil war, he entered the Confederate service as a brigadier-general. The last years of his life, ending in 1876 at three-score and ten, were spent in the practice of law at Richmond.

Thus this readable biography of Governor Wise is very largely an index to the history of Virginia during the very important period when a long struggle in the state was ended by the adoption of a modernized constitution, when the greater struggle between state sovereignty and the powers of the federal government came to an issue, and Virginia had to decide her place. The old aristocratic features of state and local government in Virginia had largely been done away after the Revolution, but the growth in population of the central and western portions of the state, from the fertile Piedmont to the Ohio, soon brought about the condition when, with representation in the legislature by counties, the old and small tide-water counties could entirely outvote the greater population west of them. The interests of East and West appeared to differ. The West wished internal improvements and the East was loath to shoulder its burden of expense for them. Slave labor belonged almost exclusively to the East. In the state convention of 1829 only one man from the tide-water region favored a change to representation based on white manhood suffrage alone, and the bitter struggle between the sections of the state ended in a compromise which merely put off the final settlement. Mr. Wise began his political life under the influence of Andrew Jackson and his party, and remained always a Democrat in his belief in the people. He pleaded consistently and earnestly for Virginia to arouse with the spirit of the age and recognize that the real interests of all her people were the same. In an address to his constituents in resigning from Congress he had urged an increase in taxation to promote public schools. When another constitutional convention was finally secured in 1850 he announced himself as a candidate for election, from the Eastern-Shore counties, on a clear-cut platform, and was elected, though the fact that the other delegate was a "mixed-basis man" shows that Wise's success was largely due to his popularity among his people. In the convention he became a leader, single-handed from the extreme East, of the western party, in favor, as he said, of free and universal education, suffrage and representation. While his party did not secure all it wished, it practically won the victory.

Touching relations of a state to the federal Union, the people of Virginia, however their distinctive school of politicians had taught extreme state's rights, were overwhelmingly opposed to secession. But they were

a unit in denouncing abolitionism and in demanding the protection of property, in slaves as in any other form of it, everywhere. Mr. Wise wrote in 1855, "I shall urge the preparation of the state for events which are casting their substance, more than their shadows, before them." Yet he hoped that war might be averted by some joint action of the Southern states, and the next year, as governor, tried in vain to bring about a conference of all their executives (except those of Kentucky and Missouri, who were not Democrats) to consult upon "the state of the country, upon the best means of preserving its peace, and especially protecting the honor and interest of the slave-holding states." The Virginia convention of 1861 brought together the leading men of the state. Mr. Wise's notion was, if resort was had to arms, that Virginia and other states in sympathy with her, keeping the Stars and Stripes, should fight as defenders of the Constitution against the usurpations of the Federal Government. Revolution, not secession, was the remedy he wished, if extreme remedies were necessary; but he became tired of the conservatism of the majority of the convention and voted with the minority for Virginia to "resume her delegated powers." On Mr. Lincoln's call for troops, old Whigs in tears joined the minority, and the convention was a unit save for a few men, who could be counted on one's fingers, from the extreme West. The words which Mr. Wise had spoken in Congress, twenty years before, of nullification in 1832, then became true of Virginia east of the mountains: "That if war had begun, every Union man of Virginia would have been a Southern man. No standing army would ever have crossed her lines to do battle against a sovereign state, without first fighting her sons of every faith at every pass where volunteers could have made a stand."

However we may be perplexed by various expressions about sovereignty which Wise used, although we may believe his views of African colonization to have been puerile, and despite the charges of inconsistency in politics brought against him, all must admire his frequent brilliancy, his independence, his untiring energy. He began a Jackson Democrat, yet he would not follow his magnetic leader and friend everywhere; he worked hard for Buchanan's election yet he repudiated the Lecompton constitution of Kansas because it did not represent the will of the people of Kansas; he bestirred the Virginia militia after John Brown's raid, but his letter on a proposed scheme of settling Northern whites in Virginia was calm and sensible; an extreme Southern man for protection of slave property under the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court, he worked hard when minister to Brazil for the enforcement of laws against the slave trade—he would not see the Stars and Stripes chartered or sold for the uses, to quote his words, of an infamous trade. "I never," he once said, "was afraid to differ with my constituents or to tell them I differed." General Lee, when about to surrender, gave to Wise, then a major-general and remembered by Northerners as the man who had hung John Brown, an opportunity to leave Virginia, but Wise preferred to surrender, to stay with his people and

to help to build up his fallen state. His letters and addresses after the war were marked by the same spirit. "I would not enslave the colored people again if I could," he said; "I am more than convinced now that slavery is so great a national weakness if not wickedness that it should never be tolerated by any people who would themselves be free." So he came to feel that the war, inevitable, had been providential. As he worked hard, an old man, for his daily bread, so he urged young Virginians to be high-minded and generous, as their fathers had been, but to be just before being generous and to rejoice in the necessity of toil. He had been left an orphan at the age of six and spoke of himself as a self-willed boy. Through life he was impulsive. Noticeable for his abstinence from liquor, at a time when drinking was common, he was yet intemperate in the use of tobacco. His chief faults, to the world, were his lack of balance, his intemperance of speech.

In reading this life of Wise and its touches of Virginia history, our horizon of thought constantly widens; and we feel afresh that without the careful study of local conditions, the history of a nation cannot be written justly.

JEFFREY R. BRACKETT.

General Sherman. By GENERAL MANNING F. FORCE. [The Great Commanders Series, edited by James Grant Wilson.] (New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1899. Pp. ix, 353.)

GENERAL FORCE was one of the best selections that could have been made from the leading officers of the Army of the Tennessee to write the history of General Sherman. An excellent officer, a close student of the war, a clear and fair writer and an intimate friend, he was well equipped for obtaining the needed material and using it with effect. It is a matter for serious regret that ill health compelled him to commit the writing of the important chapters upon the Atlanta Campaign, the Development of the March to the Sea, and the Post-Bellum Period to Gen. J. D. Cox, since the latter has in these chapters repeated certain material errors to which he has heretofore committed himself in his writings.

The period of General Sherman's life before the war is necessarily presented by General Force in compact form, but it is the most successful effort of the kind yet made. The same may properly be claimed for the chapter on the beginning of the war. In this Sherman's brilliant conduct at Bull Run is brought out in new light, a single sentence telling the story, that of the entire Union loss of "481 killed and 1111 wounded, Sherman's brigade lost 111 killed and 205 wounded."

The chapter on the battle of Shiloh is the most thorough study of that engagement yet printed. The author admits that "General Johnston marched his army out of Corinth, and on Saturday deliberately put it into camp, arranged in lines of attack, within a few miles of the National picket lines without any one in the National camp having a suspicion of that fact, though there were some who were satisfied there was a large force in front." The case is summed up in this quotation